DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 023 496 RC 000 984

By-Wright, David E., Jr.; Kuvlesky, William P.

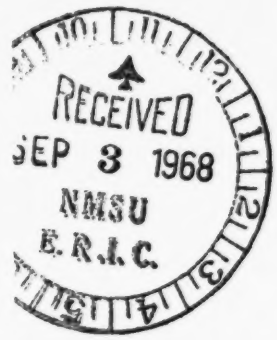
Occupational Status Projections of Mexican American Youth Residing in the Rio Grande Valley.

Pub Date Apr 68
Note-31p.; Paper presented at annual meeting of Southwestern Sociological Association, Dallas, April, 1968.
EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$1.65
Descriptors-Aspiration, *Economic Disadvantagement, Goal Orientation, *Grade 10, *Mexican Americans, Motivation, *Occupational Choice, *Rural Population, Vocational Interests, Youth
Identifiers-*Texas

Information obtained from Mexican American students in a 1967 study of high school sophomores in 4 Texas counties was analyzed empirically relating to occupational goals and expectations. It was concluded that: (1) large proportions of the Mexican American youth studied desired high-level occupations; (2) little difference existed between the level of occupational aspirations and expectations of males and females; (3) occupational expectations of Mexican American youth were high, although lower than their aspirations; and (4) the majority were not very certain of their expectations. Related documents are RC 002 589 and RC 002 587. (JH)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.



Occupational Status Projections of Mexican American Youth Residing in the Rio Grande Valley *

David E. Wright, Jr. and William P. Kuvlesky
Texas A&M University

ED023496

RC000784

*Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Sociological Association, Dallas, April, 1968.

INTRODUCTION

As far as social scientists in general are concerned, the Mexican American (or Latin American or Spanish American) minority in our society could be appropriately referred to as the "forgotten people." Even though Mexican Americans represent the third largest ethnic group in our country--and the largest ethnic minority in Texas--and collectively occupy a disadvantaged position in our society, little empirical research has been accumulated about them.[1]

The vast majority of the literature about the Mexican American ethnic group consists of highly subjective, speculative, and/or locally specific descriptions and interpretations.[2] What little empirical information does exist is either dated, fragmental, or both. This paucity of scientifically procured information is particularly evident in reference to Mexican American youth. The more specific the focus of research, the more apparent this problem becomes.

In a very extensive review of research literature relating to occupational status projections of youth, we discovered that very little empirical information exists on Mexican American youth.[3] Consequently, the generalizations and theories that have evolved over some 20 years of extensive investigation of white, and to a lesser extent Negro youths, have never been tested as they apply to Mexican Americans. As a case in point, it is a common assumption that the generally disadvantaged position of the Mexican American in our society can be largely explained in terms of a lack of motivation for status achievement that evolves out of a

subcultural value pattern that stresses as prime values family, church, and expressive interaction, as compared with the more "desirable" universalistic-achievement pattern characterizing the broader "American" culture.[4] On the other hand, Merton proposed some time ago--in developing his theory of social structure and anomie--that maintenance of high status goals was a widely shared phenomena that cuts across all segments of our society.[5] The bulk of past research on educational and occupational aspirations has largely supported Merton's thesis. Yet, the question remains, is this thesis valid as it pertains to the occupational goals of Mexican American youth.

The Problem

Our principal objective in this paper is empirical. Our interest is in describing the nature of occupational status projections of Mexican American boys and girls utilizing data available from a 1967 study of high school sophomores in four Texas counties. Of course, we will attempt to draw out some of the broader theoretical and empirical implications of our findings and provide suggestions for future research.

A conceptual scheme, originally developed by Kuvlesky and Bealer, that analytically differentiates several dimensions of occupational status orientations was used to specify our research objectives. We will provide a brief description of this framework before turning to a description of our study.

FRAMEWORK FOR STUDY

The conceptual scheme utilized here has been reported in detail in a number of publications and papers, along with supporting empirical evidence pertaining to the utility of the analytical distinctions involved.[6] Consequently, we shall provide only a brief sketch of the scheme.

The proposition that adolescents formulate personal status goals that facilitate anticipatory socialization into future adult statuses provides the basis for the paradigm to be outlined below. Ralph Turner has presented firm empirical documentation for this thesis in his recent book, The Social Context of Ambition.[7]

Two major analytical distinctions are involved in the Kuvlesky and Bealer scheme.[8] The first of these involves a distinction between two types of status projections based on the nature of the individual's orientation toward attainment in a particular status area. This distinction refers to what is commonly called aspiration and expectation. Aspiration refers to the desire of the individual for attainment of a particular status (goal). Expectation is utilized to indicate anticipation of attaining a particular status, whether or not it is desired. What is more, past research has demonstrated that persons' goals and anticipated status attainments, in reference to a given status area, may be identical or may diverge. This potential divergence or lack of congruity between the two status objects is labeled anticipatory goal deflection. We contend that this relational property can be viewed as an analytically distinct and researchable dimension.

Another part of the framework, first suggested conceptually by Sorokin and Merton and empirically evaluated by Leonard Reissman, involves what Kuvlesky and Bealer have labeled the orientation element.[9] This idea refers to the strength or intensity of the person's orientation toward the status object involved in either aspirations or expectations. In reference to aspiration this would be the strength of desire associated with obtaining the status goal specified and is referred to as <u>intensity of aspiration</u>. The comparable element involved in expectation is conceptualized as the <u>certainty</u> with which the individual anticipates attainment of a particular specified status.

In summary, we will be interested in investigating and describing five interrelated but analytically separable aspects of occupational status orientations of Mexican American boys and girls. Three of these relate to status elements: <u>goal</u>, <u>anticipated status</u>, and <u>anticipatory goal deflection</u>. In addition, we will be concerned with the orientation elements associated with each type of orientation: <u>intensity of aspiration</u> and <u>certainty of expectation.</u>

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Source and Collection of Data

Data for this analysis were obtained from high school sophomores attending school in two Southwest and two South Texas counties--Dimmit, Maverick, Starr, and Zapata. Three of the selected counties are located along the Rio Grande bordering on Mexico and the fourth county is contiguous

to one of the others. These counties were purposively selected through the use of three criteria: (1) a proportionately high rate of Mexican Americans; (2) a proportionately high rate of poverty as indicated by low-income families; and (3) predominantly rural populations centered in nonmetropolitan areas. A collection of key social and economic indicators for each county as compared with Texas and the United States are provided in Table 1. In all of the study counties agricultural production is a major source of income, agricultural employment accounts for the major portion of the labor force, and the skilled labor force is much smaller than the unskilled labor force. With the exception of Maverick County, the study units have relatively large proportions of rural people--Zapata County is all rural. Furthermore, the vast majority of all people living in each of the study counties were Mexican Americans.

The data for this analysis were gathered in May of 1967 from 765 sophomores enrolled in the seven high schools located in the four study counties. However, this analysis will utilize only the information obtained from the Mexican American segment of the study population: 290 boys and 306 girls.

The nature of the schools the respondents attended is of significance and should at least be given brief consideration here. Considerable variation in the size of the sophomore class existed among the seven schools involved: the range was from 26 to 261 students. Only one of the high schools involved was experiencing complete de facto segregation of Mexican American and Anglo students. This same high school reported it had only one general curriculum to offer, while another school offered a complete array of programs.[10]

Table 1. Selected Indicators of Socio-Economic Conditions in the South Texas Study Counties Compared with Texas and the United States.

Place	Total Population (Thousands)	Mexican Americans (Percent)	Low-Income Families[A] (Percent)	Median Family Income	Median School Yrs. Comp.[B]	Unskilled Lab.For.[C] (Percent)	Agr. Lab. For.[D] (Percent)
Dimmit	10	67.0	59.7	$2,480	5	61.8	38.3
Maverick	15	77.6	58.0	2,523	6	47.5	19.4
Starr	17	88.7	71.4	1,700	5	50.4	41.0
Zapata	4	74.8	65.5	1,766	5	54.6	39.0
Texas	9,580	14.8	28.8	4,884	10	36.5	7.8
United States	179,323	1.9	21.4	5,657	11	37.5	6.0

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, United States Summary, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964, Tables 42, 76, 87, and 95; and Part 45, Texas, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963, Tables 14, 28, 47, 57, 66, 84, 86, and 87.

[A]Annual family income below $3,000.

[B]Persons 25 years old and over.

[C]Males and Females classified as operatives & kindred, private household workers, service workers, farm laborers & farm foremen, and other laborers.

[D]Males and Females classified as farmers, farm managers, farm laborers, and farm foremen.

The interviews were group-administered by trained graduate students--one of whom read each stimulus question aloud as the respondents answered it. The respondents were guaranteed that their responses would be kept confidential. The amount of time for administration of the questionnaires ranged from 35 to 70 minutes: particular care was taken to see that the pace of administration was suited to the ability of the particular group of students being interviewed. Only those students who were present on the day of the interview were included in the study, and, no attempt was made to contact students who were absent.

Indicators and Measurements

Only a small portion of the responses contained in the questionnaire were utilized in this analysis. Questions regarding ethnic membership, sex, and the several dimensions of occupational status orientations specified previously were used. These questions are duplicated in the Appendix exactly as they occurred in the questionnaire. For the purpose of this paper, we will provide only a brief description of the indicators and measurements used in reference to the five dimensions of occupational orientation involved in our analysis.

Status elements of aspiration and expectation

Two open-end questions were used to elicit responses that would serve as indicators of the occupational goal and anticipated occupational status of the respondent. The responses to both of these questions were coded in terms of a modified version of the usual census scheme.[11] The

measurement categories utilized are shown in Table 2. The two stimulus questions are as follow:

1. Goal: "If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you desire most as a lifetime job?"

2. Anticipated Status: "Sometimes we are not always able to do what we want most. What kind of job do you really expect to have most of your life?"

In both cases the respondent was encouraged to give an exact job.

Anticipatory goal deflection

Anticipatory deflection was determined by simply comparing the measures of goal and expected status. If these were incongruent, anticipatory deflection was considered to exist. A further distinction was made on the basis of the nature of the deflection: positive deflection was judged to exist if expectation had a higher rank than goal and negative deflection was assumed to exist if aspiration had the higher rank order. A further refinement of measurement involved the determination of degree of deflection by ascertaining the number of level differences existing between the goal and expectation measure.

Intensity of aspiration

The degree of desire held for the occupational goal was ascertained through a question that instructed the respondent to rank order the importance of attainment of seven status goals, including his occupational goal. The relative importance assigned to the occupational goal is considered to indicate the measure of the relative intensity of desire for it. This forced-response type of instrument produced a range in scores from

one to seven: the lower the score, the stronger the intensity of desire was judged to be for the occupational goal. For purposes of analysis these scores were grouped into three levels of intensity as follow: Strong (1-2); Intermediate (3-5); and Weak (6-7).[12]

Certainty of expectation

The degree of certainty associated with the occupational attainment expected by the respondent was ascertained through a forced-choice stimulus question which instructed the respondent to select, from a set of five alternative answers, the one most appropriate for indicating how certain he felt about attaining his occupational expectation. The five alternatives were structured in a Likert-type scale representing various degrees of certainty. The degrees of certainty provided as alternative responses were as follow: Very Certain; Certain; Not Very Certain; Uncertain; and Very Uncertain.

All of the indicators and modes of measurement described above have been used in previous analyses of various kinds of status orientations on other populations and were evaluated as fruitful. The utilization of the same measurement procedures in this study will facilitate synthesis and codification over a wide range of orientation phenomena.

FINDINGS

The results of our analysis will be presented in three parts in the following order: Aspirations; Expectations; and Anticipatory Deflection.

In each case data are presented and discussed separately for each sex, although any significant male-female differences observed are noted.

Occupational Aspirations

As was noted previously in the framework section, two elements of aspiration--the status element (goal) and the orientation element (intensity of aspiration)--are involved in this investigation.

Status element

An inspection of the proportional distribution of male respondents over the alternative occupational goal categories shows that the majority of their goals were clustered into three categories -- Low Professional, Skilled-Blue Collar, and High Professional. The remainder were more or less evenly distributed over the other five goal types (excluding housewife), Table 2. More specifically, almost half of the Mexican American boys desired professional type jobs and most of these indicated a preference for a lower prestige professional job. Considering the background of these boys, it is interesting to note that less than thirty percent desired blue-collar jobs, and most of these aspired to attain skilled work.

The aggregate goal profile of the Mexican American girls demonstrated even greater response concentration than was noted for boys: fully eighty percent of the girls desired either low-prestige professional positions or clerical and sales jobs, Table 2. The bulk of the remainder were split between two other categories--glamour and skilled-blue collar. The girls

Table 2. Occupational Goals and Expectations of Mexican American Boys and Girls.

Occupational Status	Goals		Expectations	
	Boys (279)	Girls (300)	Boys (279)	Girls (300)
	Percent			
1. High Professional	13	3	6	2
2. Low Professional	35	51	31	31
3. Glamour	6	6	3	3
4. Managerial	8	1	12	1
5. Clerical and Sales	9	29	11	41
6. Skilled	20	7	24	8
7. Operatives	4	1	6	1
8. Unskilled	5	0	7	2
9. Housewife, Other	0	2	0	11
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
No Information, Don't Know	11	6	11	6

were similar to the boys in another respect. Approximately half of them desired professional jobs; however, almost all of these girls were concentrated in the low-prestige professional class. Beyond this, the major male-female differences were that three times as many girls as boys desired clerical and sales jobs; and, conversely, three times as many boys as girls desired skilled-blue collar jobs.

It can be concluded that a substantial majority of both Mexican American boys and girls desired high-prestige, white-collar types of employment and that relatively small minorities desired low-prestige jobs. This observation is brought out more clearly when the original measurement categories are collapsed into three more inclusive status-level classes as described in Table 3. This operation indicates little sex difference in the general level of occupational goals: a majority of respondents had high goals and very few had low goals.

Intensity of aspiration

Sex differences among the respondents on intensity of desire associated with occupational goals were inconsequential, Table 4. Intensity of aspiration of Mexican American was generally strong. Approximately seventy percent of these respondents indicated strong desires for their occupational goal, and extremely small proportions indicated weak desires.

Occupational Expectations

Status element

By and large the aggregate profile of expected jobs for boys was

Table 3. Occupational Goal and Expectation Levels of Mexican American Boys and Girls.

Occupational Level	Goals		Expectations	
	Boys (279)	Girls (300)	Boys (279)	Girls (300)
	Percent			
High (1,2,3)*	54	60	40	36
Intermediate (4,5,6)*	37	37	47	50
Low (7,8,9)*	9	3	13	14
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
No Information, Don't Know	11	6	11	6

*Numbers indicate original measurement categories presented in Table 2.

Table 4. Desire for Occupational Aspirations Maintained by Mexican American Boys and Girls.

Intensity of Desire	Boys (288)	Girls (305)	Total (593)
	Percent		
Strong	69	72	71
Intermediate	29	24	26
Weak	2	4	3
TOTAL	100	100	100
No Response	2	1	3

comparable to what was observed previously in reference to goal, Table 2. The largest proportion of boys anticipated attainment of either low-prestige professional or skilled-blue collar jobs--these two categories accounted for over half of the boys' expectations. Given this broad similarity in the profiles of desired and anticipated status elements, several noteworthy differences were observed. Although the percentage differences are relatively small, only half as many boys expected high-prestige professional or glamour jobs as desired them. In fact, there was a general but slight decline from goals to expectations in the proportions desiring the three highest prestige type occupations, and slight increases spread over the remaining occupational categories of lesser prestige (excluding housewife).

As was observed for goals, the aggregate expectation profile for girls demonstrated a very high level of response concentration. Almost three-fourths of the female respondents anticipated two types of jobs: clerical and sales (41%) and low-prestige professional (31%). Most of the remainder were equally divided between expectations to become housewives and anticipation of attaining skilled-blue collar work. A comparison of the goal and expectation profiles of females indicates that, collectively, there was a drastic reduction in the proportion of expectations classified in the low professional category as compared with goals. The bulk of this categorical loss was divided into equal percentage gains in the clerical and sales and housewife expectation classes over the comparable goal categories. Of particular significance is the fact that eleven percent of the girls anticipated becoming housewives, while

only two percent indicated a desire for this status.

Generally speaking, the expectation profiles of boys and girls did not differ much at the high-prestige end of the occupational hierarchy--certainly, less than was the case for goals. On the other hand, marked differences were observed between the sex groupings in reference to the clerical and sales, skilled-blue collar, and housewife categories. Collapsing the original expectation categories into three broad status-level classes, was was done for goals, demonstrates that only slight differences exist between boys and girls in level of expectation, Table 3. Slightly more than a third of each sex grouping held high-level expectations, while about half of each sex anticipated intermediate prestige levels of employment. Even though Table 3 clearly demonstrates aggregate deflection from high-level goals to intermediate- and low-level expectations for both boys and girls, it should be noted that only a little more than one-tenth of the respondents anticipated low-level occupational attainment.

Certainty of expectation

An examination of data in Table 5 reveals no major differences between Mexican American boys and girls on the certainty associated with their expected jobs. About one-third of the respondents felt some degree of certainty in regard to their anticipated job attainments, while approximately one out of ten were uncertain or very uncertain. The majority of respondents indicated that they were not very certain about attaining the jobs they expected.

Table 5. The Degree of Certainty Associated with Occupational Expectations Held by Mexican American Boys and Girls.

Degree of Certainty	Boys (279)	Girls (297)	Total (576)
	----------Percent----------		
Very Certain	10	7	8
Certain	26	25	26
Not Very Certain	54	58	56
Uncertain	7	8	7
Very Uncertain	3	2	3
TOTAL	100	100	100
No Response	11	9	20

Anticipatory Goal Deflection

As indicated earlier in the framework section, anticipatory deflection was derived by comparing the measures of each individual's desired and expected status attainments.

Practically no sex differences existed in either the frequency of occurrence of gross deflection or in the rates of positive or negative deflection, Table 6. Approximately two-thirds of the Mexican American youth did not experience anticipatory goal deflection at all. Of those youth deflected from their occupational goals, the majority experienced negative deflection; that is, their expectations were lower than their goals. The youth deflected in a negative direction accounted for three-fourths of all respondents experiencing deflection. Only a very small proportion--less than one-tenth--were deflected in a positive direction. The only noteworthy sex difference observable from the data presented in Table 6 existed in the magnitude of negative deflection experienced. Females tended to experience a greater degree of negative deflection than males, as evidenced by the fact that most girls experienced three degrees or more of goal-expectation difference, while most of the boys experienced three degrees or less.

A logical proposition supported by some past research is that the direction and rate of goal deflection can vary by type of occupational goal.[13] To explore this proposition we extended our analysis by cross-classifying the anticipatory deflection variable by type of occupational goal and sex. This operation revealed some interesting observations in differential rates of deflection between males and females by goal level.

Table 6. Nature and Degree of Anticipatory Deflection from Occupational Goals of Mexican American Boys and Girls.

Deflection	Boys (279)	Girls (300)	Total (579)
	----------Percent----------		
None	62	62	62
Positive	9	6	8
+1	3	2	
+2	2	1	
+3	1	1	
+4	2	1	
+5	1	1	
Negative	29	32	30
-1	7	2	
-2	6	3	
-3	7	13	
-4	4	7	
-5	2	1	
-6	3	1	
-7	0	5	
TOTAL	100	100	100
No Information	11	6	17

The most striking and important observation was that the majority of youth did not experience deflection, regardless of the occupational goals they had, Table 7. Respondents aspiring to intermediate level goals tended to experience the lowest frequency of deflection and those having high goals the highest. It is interesting to note that the highest rate of goal deflection for both boys and girls occurred in relation to glamour aspirations. As indicated previously, jobs subsumed under the title "glamour" are those most often associated with special ability rather than achievement; thus, one inference that can be made is that those aspiring to glamour jobs were more realistic than others in appraising their expectations.

In order to ascertain whether or not specific differences in patterning of deflection existed, we decided to extend the analysis one step further by doing a complete cross-classification of the male and female respondents by goal and expected status types. This operation did not indicate any significant patterning for males, Table 8. However, a very distinct trend was observed for girls: the vast majority of those girls experiencing goal deflection anticipated attainment of clerical and sales type jobs. Also, the inference made earlier about the greater realism of those aspiring to glamour jobs appears to receive support from this data. Those deflected from this goal type expected to attain markedly lower prestige jobs.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Conclusions

The conclusions that can be drawn here are limited by the nature of the population studied and by the nature of the study itself--particularly

Table 7. A Cross-Classification of Anticipatory Deflection by Sex and Type of Occupational Goal.

Occupational Goal	Nature of Deflection*							
	Boys (279)				Girls (300)			
	No.	0	+	-	No.	0	+	-
		---Percent---				---Percent---		
High Professional	36	42	0	58	9	56	0	44
Low Professional	99	69	2	29	155	57	0	43
Glamour	17	29	12	59	17	35	6	59
Managerial	21	62	9	29	3	0	0	100
Clerical and Sales	24	71	4	25	88	82	2	16
Skilled	57	74	19	7	20	50	40	10
Operatives	11	36	55	9	2	0	100	0
Unskilled	14	71	29	0	1	0	0	0
Housewives	0	0	0	0	5	80	20	0
No Information	11				6			

* 0 = No Deflection
+ = Positive Deflection
- = Negative Deflection

Table 8. Patterns of Anticipatory Goal Deflection Determined by a Complete Cross-Classification of Goal and Expectation Categories by Sex.

Goal*	Boys (N=279)									Girls (N=300)									
		Expectation*									Expectation*								
	NO.	HP	LP	GL	MA	CS	SK	OP	USK	NO.	HP	LP	GL	MA	CS	SK	OP	USK	HW
		Percent									Percent								
HP	36	[42]	22	3	17	3	8	5	0	9	[56]	11	0	0	33	0	0	0	0
LP	99	2	[69]	1	6	3	10	3	6	155	0	[58]	1	0	23	6	1	1	10
GL	17	6	6	[29]	6	24	29	0	0	17	0	6	[35]	0	41	6	0	0	12
MA	21	0	9	0	[62]	5	10	14	0	3	0	0	0	[0]	67	33	0	0	0
CS	24	0	4	0	0	[71]	17	4	4	88	0	0	1	1	[82]	4	1	2	9
SK	57	0	7	0	5	7	[74]	4	3	20	0	10	0	10	20	[50]	0	0	10
OP	11	0	27	0	18	9	0	[37]	9	2	0	50	0	0	50	0	[0]	0	0
USK	14	0	0	0	14	0	7	7	[72]	1	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	[0]	0
HW	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	[80]

Figures in box indicate percentage of each category not experiencing anticipatory goal deflection. For each goal category figures to the left of the box represent positive deflection and those on the right represent negative deflection.

*Symbols refer to occupational status categories as shown in Table 2.

in light of the scarcity of other empirical evidence on Mexican American youth. The population was composed of Mexican American sophomore males and females from low-income areas of Texas. The type of study performed was of a facilitative nature with the purpose of providing information where little existed, rather than to test, formulate, or innovate theory. However, the conclusions made may be of more significance than they would initially appear to be, as the nation's Mexican American population is largely concentrated in five Southwestern states and approximately two-fifths of these people reside in Texas.[14]

From the findings presented, it can be concluded that large proportions of these Mexican American youth desired high-level occupations, particularly within the "low professional" category; relatively few youth desired intermediate or low-level occupations. It can further be concluded that there was little difference between the level of occupational aspirations of Mexican American males and females; differences between males and females existed primarily at the intermediate level of occupational aspirations, where males showed a preference for "skilled" jobs while females preferred "clerical and sales" jobs. Differences between males and females on intensity of desire were inconsequential; and both sexes expressed a strong desire for their occupational goals.

It can also be concluded that the Mexican American youth had high expectations which followed a pattern similar to their aspirations; however, while generally high, the youth's expectations were still, on an aggregate basis, lower than their aspirations. The same sex differences noted for aspirations also prevailed for expectations. Lastly, no

differences existed between sexes for certainty of expectation; the majority of each group were not very certain of their expectations.

In reference to anticipatory deflection it can be concluded that the majority of the youth were not deflected from their goals, regardless of the particular goal category concerned except for the glamour category. Females tended to experience a greater degree of negative deflection than males, and the majority of those girls experiencing goal deflection anticipated attainment of clerical and sales type jobs. No patterning of the males who were deflected was noted by types of expectation.

Implications

Theory

This study provides an empirical investigation of the contention made by Merton that the inculcation of high valuation on success goals is universally shared by members of a society irrespective of their positions in social structures.[15] The results of this study, indicating that the prevailing occupational goals are recognized as legitimate ends by members of a disadvantaged and deprived ethnic group, the Mexican Americans, firmly supports Merton's viewpoint; this is analogous to the findings of studies on other minorities.

At the same time that this study supports Merton's proposition concerning the universalism of success goals, it questions the validity of certain aspects of Hyman's work. According to Hyman, occupational goals tend to follow social class lines; this is certainly not the case with the Mexican American youth studied here, as their goals were predominantly

high even though the youth were largely from low SES origins.[16] In addition, the findings that these Mexican American youth, who are mostly lower class youth, had relatively high occupational expectations questions Stephenson's proposition that expectations may be class bound.[17]

Finally, the conclusions concerning the occupational status orientations of these Mexican American youth raises serious questions about the commonplace stereotype of Mexican American culture. This study, and similar studies on other status orientations, repudiates these stereotypical portrayals of Mexican Americans as being a traditional, folk-type people who place little emphasis on achievement and success. Alternatively, the findings could indicate a rather dramatic and rapid transformation of Mexican American culture, signalling that these people have reached what Heller has termed the "take-off point" in a rapid and long awaited assimilation into the broader American society.[18]

Research

Research on the status orientations of youth needs to be extended to Mexican American youth in other parts of the Southwest to determine whether or not similar results will be obtained; until this is done, the findings of this study serve as tentative generalizations of the orientations of such youth. Additionally, research should be expanded to include several other status areas, e.g., residence, material possessions, leisure time activities, which together form the youth's aspirational frame of reference.

Beyond the descriptive type research suggested above, there is a need for analytical investigation of the correlates of orientations; that is, there is a need to determine the causes of variability in the dimensions

of status projections in one status area relative to other status projections.[19] Another investigation which has been suggested is to study the consistency of the youth's various status projections. Lastly, future research must include comparative analysis of the orientations of Mexican Americans relative to other groups.

Policy

The fact that large proportions of Mexican American youth not only desire, but also expect to attain relatively high levels of occupation suggest that these youth need to be prepared to pursue their goals through the legitimate means to success. Given the nature of these youth's backgrounds, this preparation involves mainly obtaining quality education and financial aid for the youth, and in some cases, also for their families.

Finally, the Mexican American youth need to be made aware of the interrelations of the various social structures--educational, occupational, and income--which exist in society and how these structures relate to their orientations. That is, the youth should be made aware of the means for achieving their goals and of the possible barriers to their success in attaining them. Certainly, any general failure in the level of social status attainment of the evolving generation of Mexican Americans will not be able to be explained in terms of low goals and weak motivation for social advancement.

Footnotes

1. See U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports: Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report PC (2)-1B, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963, pp. VI-XII. For more information on the situation of the Mexican Americans, see the following reports: The Burden of Poverty, ("Mexican American Study Project," Advance Report 5) Los Angeles: University of California, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, July, 1966; Harley L. Browning and S. Dale McLemore, A Statistical Profile of the Spanish-Surname Population of Texas, Austin: University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1964; and W. Kennedy Uphan and David E. Wright, Poverty Among Spanish Americans in Texas: Low-Income Families in a Minority Group (Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Departmental Information Report No. 66-2) College Station: Texas A&M University, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, September, 1966.

2. For examples of this type of literature, see Arthur J. Rubel, Across the Tracks: Mexican Americans in a Texas City, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966; William Madsen, The Mexican Americans of South Texas, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965; and Steve Allen, The Ground is Our Table, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966. Despite these works' and similar works' lack of an objective viewpoint, such works often perform the very valuable services of informing and motivating their readers.

3. This effort to develop an inclusive listing of the research materials on value orientations, and eventually to annotate these materials, is currently being carried on in the Agricultural Economics and Sociology Department at Texas A&M University under the direction of William P. Kuvlesky. The specific report referred to is William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, Occupational Aspirations and Expectations: A Bibliography of Research Literature (Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Departmental Information Report No. 66-1) College Station: Texas A&M University, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, June, 1966. Among those studies of which I am aware are the following: Arturo De Hoyos, "Occupational and Educational Levels of Aspirations of Mexican American Youth," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1961; Celia S. Heller, "Background and Ambitions of Male Mexican-American High School Seniors in Los Angeles," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Los Angeles, California, 1963; and Herschel T. Manuel, Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest: Their Education and the Public Welfare, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965.

4. Talcott Parsons, The Social System, New York: The Free Press, 1951, pp. 198-200.

5. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, rev. and enl. ed., New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957, pp. 131-139, 161-170.

6. The following presentation of the conceptual framework to be used in studying occupational status orientations is taken from the following sources: William P. Kuvlesky and Robert C. Bealer, "A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice'," Rural Sociology 31 (September, 1966), pp. 265-76; and William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, "Occupational Status Orientations of Negro Boys: A Rural-Urban Comparison," Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, Miami Beach, Florida, August, 1966. Other research efforts which have used this conceptual scheme include the following: George W. Ohlendorf, "Educational Orientations of Rural Youth in Selected Low-Income Counties of Texas," Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, May, 1967; and John T. Pelham, "An Analysis of Status Consistency of the Projected Frames of Reference: A Racial Comparison of Males in Selected Low-Income Areas of the Rural South," Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, January, 1968.

7. Ralph H. Turner, The Social Context of Ambition, San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1964.

8. Kuvlesky and Bealer, op. cit.

9. Pitirim A. Sorokin, Society, Cluture, and Personality, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957, p. 265; and Merton, op. cit.

10. These statements concerning the nature of the schools were based primarily on informal interviews of the high school officials, and, secondly on participant observation.

11. The Census scheme is in Classified Index of Occupations and Industries, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1960.

12. For further discussion of this instrument, see Ohlendorf, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

13. To some extent, the rates of deflection are artifacts of the scheme for classifying such rates. For other research which performs similar analysis, see Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, op. cit.; and Bilquis A. Ameen, "Occupational Status Orientations and Perception of Opportunity: A Racial Comparison of Rural Youth from Depressed Areas." Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, January, 1968.

14. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Persons of Spanish Surname, op. cit.

15. Merton, op. cit.

16. Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, 2nd ed., New York: The Free Press, 1966, pp. 488-499. Occupation of the Mexican American respondent's head-of-household was used as an indicator of SES.

17. Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22 (April, 1957), pp. 204-212.

18. Celia S. Heller, Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads, New York: Random House, 1966, pp. 83-86.

19. This suggestion is discussed and a method for such analysis presented in Pelham, op. cit.

APPENDIX A

EXCERPTS FROM RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

9. If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you desire most as a lifetime job? (In answering this question give an exact job. For example, do not say "work on the railroad" but tell us what railroad job you would like to have.) Write your answer in the box below.

ANSWER: [ ]

---

10. (a) Sometimes we are not always able to do what we want most. What kind of job do you really expect to have most of your life? (Write your answer in the box below. Please give an exact job!)

ANSWER: [ ]

(b) How certain are you that this is the job you will have most of your life? (Circle one number):

I am:	1	2	3	4	5
	Very Certain	Certain	Not very Certain	Uncertain	Very Uncertain

27. Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to. Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important put a number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one put in a number 2; and so on until you have a different number (from 1 to 7) for each one. Read over the entire list before answering the question.

____ To have lots of free time to do what I want.

____ To get all the education I want.

____ To earn as much money as I can.

____ To get the job I want most.

____ To live in the kind of place I like best.

____ To have the kind of house, car, furniture, and other things like this I want.

____ To get married and raise a family.

CHECK YOUR ANSWERS! You should have used each number from 1 to 7 only one time and you should have a number in each blank space.

---

28. Are you of Spanish-American ancestry? (Circle one number.)

1 Yes 2 No